

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Control: 3191

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FROM: MOSCOW

T0: Secretary of State

NO: 1226, DECEMBER 5, NOON

SENT DEPARTMENT 1226; REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 231, PARIS 211,
 BONN 141

IN MY OPINION BOTH SOVIET NOTE AND KHRUSHCHEV'S REMARKS
TO SENATOR HUMPHREY TEND TO CONFIRM THAT PRINCIPAL IMMEDIATE
EXPLANATION OF SOVIET ACTION IS DESIRE TO REMOVE AN
IMPEDIMENT TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNISM IN EAST GERMANY
(AND POSSIBLY POLAND). THE SOVIETS HAVE NEVER SHOWN
THEMSELVES CAPABLE OF TOLERATING ANY DEVIATION WITHIN THEIR
SYSTEM AND EMPHASIS OF PAST YEAR IN ENTIRE COMMUNIST ELOC
HAS BEEN TOWARD ORTHODOXY AND AWAY FROM REVISIONISM.
I BELIEVE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT FOR SOVIETS IS THE ESCAPE
ROUTE FOR REFUGEES. THE FLIGHT OF DOCTORS AND INTELLECTUALS
HAS SHOWN THE DIFFICULTIES OF BRINGING EAST GERMANY INTO
LINE SO LONG AS THE BERLIN ESCAPE ROUTE IS OPEN.

KHRUSHCHEV'S LONG RANGE OBJECTIVE IS ALSO CLEAR, THAT IS TO ABSORB BERLIN INTO GDR. KHRUSHCHEV HAS HIMSELF STATED THAT OUR TROOPS IN BERLIN SERVE NO MILITARY PURPOSE AND HE OBVIOUSLY WOULD LIKE TO REMOVE THE GUARANTEE THEY CONSTITUTE OF THE CONTINUED FREEDOM OF WEST BERLIN. I THINK IT FAIR TO STATE, HOWEVER, THAT KHRUSHCHEV IS ALSO PROBABLY GENUINELY CONCERNED AT THE THREAT TO PEACE WHICH COULD ARISE OVER THE BERLIN PROBLEM ONCE WESTERN GERMANY IS FULLY ARMED.

WHILE I THINK IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DEVISE A SOLUTION TO THE BERLIN PROBLEM WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO US AND REDUCE THE CURRENT DANGERS IN THIS SITUATION, I DO NOT SEE ANY SOLUTION LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE

SOVIET

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 Action INCOMING
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~~CORRECTION ISSUED: 1~~

~~15730, 6 P.M. AM~~

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SOVIETS WHICH DID NOT CUT OFF THE ESCAPE ROUTE AND THIS
 I PRESUME WE COULD NEVER ACCEPT. IT IS, OF COURSE, POSSIBLE
 THAT IF WE SHOW SUFFICIENT DETERMINATION AND UNITY,
 KHRUSHCHEV WOULD ACCEPT SOME SOLUTION NOT FULLY SATISFACTORY
 TO HIM AS A WAY OF BACKING DOWN FROM THE DANGEROUS SITUATION
 IN WHICH HE HAS PLACED HIMSELF. IN ANY EVENT I SUGGEST WE
 SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PUT FORWARD COUNTER PROPOSALS IF ONLY
 TO STRENGTHEN OUR POSITION IN THE EVENT OF A SHOWDOWN AND
 TO INCREASE UNITY AMONG THE WESTERN POWERS. AS A FIRST
 STEP, HOWEVER, BELIEVE WE SHOULD MAKE STRONG REFUTATION
 DISTORTIONS AND LIES IN SOVIET NOTE AND FIRM STATEMENT
 OUR INTENTION MAINTAIN OUR RIGHTS BY FORCE IF NECESSARY.
 REPLY SHOULD OFFER DISCUSS THE PROBLEM PROVIDED WE HAVE
 REASONABLE COUNTER PROPOSALS TO PUT FORWARD.

THOMPSON

UE/21 JFV.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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